

SYNOPSIS OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MAYOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
B'NAI B'RITH 79TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, ST. PAUL, JUNE 29, 1947

Our forefathers left us the rich spiritual gift of a set of political and social ideals which we sum up in the word "democracy". Like most spiritual legacies these ideals ask fully as much as they give. They give sacred rights and privileges but they also ask the performance of serious duties and responsibilities.

Democracy is a demanding faith.

It demands that as individuals and as a people we practice what we preach. And in our country there has always been a tragic distance between the practicing and the preaching.

The increasing complexity of twentieth century living has not helped us bridge this distance. Moreover, the democratic goals were never easy to achieve. Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln laid down for us a full agenda. On it there are still too many items of unfinished business.

Today, as never before, we must address ourselves to this unfinished business--the unfinished business of democracy.

I think that most Americans would agree to this. I think most of them are ready to roll up their sleeves to get down to the unfinished business.

But where and how shall they start? This is the question that strait-jackets a good many people who want very badly to do something.

Too many of them think of big action in Hollywood terms--"unexcelled, colossal, and stupendous." They give big banquets, hold mass meetings, and send ringing declarations of principle to the President. None of these are bad but they often serve as mechanisms to escape responsibility for acting in the place where all serious democratic action must begin.

I mean, of course, in your own backyard--in your own town, village or city.

Let me tell you about something we did in our community and how we did it.

A few months after my first term in office began, we appointed a Mayor's Council on Human Relations. Eighteen months later the City Council passed a Fair Employment Practices Ordinance with punitive clauses--the only ordinance of its kind in the United States.

Was this simple? Certainly not. That in-between period of eighteen months demanded the hardest kind of plain work--months and months of it, miles and miles of it.

It was difficult to pass an F.E.P. Ordinance, but that's not the point--the point is that it wasn't impossible.

We started working in our own backyard and with the people we knew --the people of the churches, and the P.T.A.'s, and the trade unions and the business groups and any one else that took any part in our community life. We selected eighteen individuals to serve on the Mayor's Council on Human Relations. These individuals represented every significant section of the community, but more important than this, they were carefully chosen because they were men and women who meant business about the proposition that regardless of race, creed, or color, all the people of Minneapolis have certain inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The Council started its work with one of the largest, most important, and yet painful projects ever undertaken in Minneapolis. With the help of six hundred recruited volunteers they conducted a Community Self-Survey. The people of Minneapolis had declared their willingness to look themselves squarely in the face on the issue of race prejudice. The Mayor's Council held up the

mirror. What we saw wasn't always pretty. But we learned exactly what and where the trouble was. Where before we had only had vague aches and pains, now we were able to feel the precise sore spots.

But all the while we were making the survey we were holding meetings, conferences, and interviews. We talked to leaders from every group in the community. We listened patiently to expressions of fear and doubt, reluctance, and hesitation, opposition and sometimes even hate. With a feeling of tolerance and understanding we tried to bring everything out into the open. We wanted no doubts or fears left smoldering in the breasts of people capable of making the right decision.

Through it all we gently but firmly exploded the myths, and evasions, and rationalizations. Finally we always come to the overwhelming question: do you simply preach the American ideals or do you want to practice them, too? I am proud to say that the great majority of our people came up with the right answer.

Well, to make a long story short we now have an F.E.P. Commission of distinguished citizens who administer our F.E.P. law. The law is working; we are getting the cooperation of the people of Minneapolis.

This is not a glamorous or spectacular story, but we are proud to tell it. We think that the local area is the vital area, and that the step we have taken in our community is worth one hundred declarations of principle at the national level. We have broken a pattern; we have struggled along a few feet toward the goal of a community where all men are brothers; we have disposed of one item on the agenda of unfinished democratic business.

We look forward with enthusiasm to these many items of unfinished business that still remain.

told those men in Washington: "We cannot hold up our heads as self-respecting American citizens, and we certainly cannot successfully aspire to leadership in world affairs, so long as we make mockery of our high sounding talk about justice and democracy by practices of discrimination which destroy the dignity and deny the rights of millions of our citizens.

"It is high time that we correct this weakness in our public character by taking such forthright action against it that there can be no question of our sincerity and good faith. The enactment of FEPC, with provisions for vigorous enforcement power and with a sufficient appropriation of funds to assure effective national administration would go far in removing this burden from our national conscience."

That is the kind of a Gentlemen I have the privilege and honor of presenting to you; gracious, affable, gentle, intelligent and dynamic, Mayor Hubert Humphrey. The Honorable Hubert Humphrey. (Prolonged applause)

HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Jack Mackay. That was a truly wonderful introduction. I wish that would be in the Associated Press dispatches sometime. (Laughter) Dr. Epstein, and Phil Klutznick--I am very happy to see Mr. Klutznick here. I was so surprised when I came in I didn't recognize him. I did not suspect that he would come all the way from Chicago to be here this evening. I knew Mr. Klutznick back in the days of Federal Housing Administration. I hope to know him in those days again. (Laughter)

~~After Jack Mackay's introduction, I must feel some sense of humility. Believe me, the introduction went way overheard.~~ If I can do just half as well as you have been led to expect, I will say this will be a great evening for me, if not for you. ~~(Laughter)~~

I recognize that this is a very serious occasion for you folks, and it is a very serious occasion for all of us. ~~First of all, I knew Henry Monsky. I met him in Minneapolis.~~ I met him ~~out~~ at the Temple Israel, where we had a fine reception one evening. I also knew him as the ~~National~~ Chairman of the National Conference for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. I ~~do~~ want ~~to~~ at this moment, then, ^{to} express ~~in my~~ ~~way~~, my tribute to him as a great American, ~~and~~ I want to express ~~it~~. (I think I can say that I am sometimes scolded for doing this) the tribute of the people of our city; our tribute to him as a great American.

~~Jack, you have been most gracious with me, and I had sort of a welcoming delegation on the outside that saw to it that I was ushered in here quickly.~~ You folks have been told where I was before I arrived here. I was over here in Minnie-Haw-Haw Park, at "Veskoenigs Tag," the Swedish Festival Day. That was the 142nd annual festival. We had a tremendous ~~crowd~~, and what I have to say to you tonight will be much in line with what I had to say to them, ~~because I made up my mind now, that it is impossible for me to make up a new speech or~~

~~say something to each group that each group wants to hear~~
~~each time I go out. I am going to speak my heart and convictions.~~
 Being one who enjoyed the privilege of speaking as often as
 I do, I made up my mind that I would say what I wanted to if
 anybody liked it or not. ~~(Applause)~~ And I hoped that I
 might make a convert or two, at least, to the program that
 we have in mind.

~~Jack, I know that you will permit me, for just a~~
~~moment to give a couple of side glances here.~~ As I said, I *have*
 just left our good Swedish friends in Minneapolis. ~~You mentioned~~
~~my politics.~~ Most of them are good Republicans. Tonight you
 were going to have a good American as your speaker, but we
 Democrats are always willing to fill in for the Republicans
 any time. ~~(Applause and laughter)~~ I am sorry that we have
 to wait until 1948 ~~(laughter and applause)~~, but we are patient.

~~Our City of Minneapolis is a distinct part of this~~
~~Annual Convention of yours--I believe it is the sixth District,~~
 and our City of Minneapolis, ~~let me say,~~ feels a real spirit
 of cordiality and hospitality, even though this conference is
 being held in St. Paul. We are some what internationally
 minded in this immediate area ~~of ours.~~

~~We are happy to know that the Delegates are here~~
 from some of the provinces in Canada, because we look to our
 Canadian friends and we respect them. We understand as citizens
 and fellow Americans, the meaning of good neighbor policy, when

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we meet our friends from Canada, and I am happy tonight that we do have Delegates from Canada. We hope that you are having a good time here in St. Paul. If you are not, come see us.

~~(Laughter and applause)~~

I was quickly told out here in the wings of the stage that there were eight states, I believe, represented at this very fine meeting, and that, of course, again is a note in our behalf. We feel very happy to know that we can be the host-- and when I say "we," I know that Milt Rosen won't complain when I say this is a metropolitan area and district, and even though we have to divide up our laurels with St. Paul, we want to work together, particularly if it is this good. (Laughter and applause) And we welcome all these people from the eight states.

I am so used to giving welcoming speeches, I do it whether I am supposed to or not. (Laughter)

~~I don't know what is left for me to say, more than~~
~~Mr. Mackay has already said about our work in Minneapolis, but~~
~~I will be a little explicit on how it came to pass, why we~~
~~decided on a program such as we have in the Mayor's Council~~
~~of Human Relations, and I will discuss our community survey,~~
~~and tell you of the trials and tribulations that we had in~~
~~securing the passing of the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance,~~
~~and I hope to talk to you on basic rights and its meaning.~~

I have had a real honor bestowed upon me, and that is

to be a public official. I ^{respect} hold that honor, ~~with great respect,~~ and I believe that places a great obligation and responsibility upon one's heart and shoulders. I don't think we can take these public responsibilities lightly. We ought to enjoy them. We ought to enjoy all the good fellowship that comes from them, and we ought to enjoy the wonderful broadening experience which comes from learning about other people.

My life has been enriched since I have been Mayor of Minneapolis; enriched in this sense: ~~That~~ Before I was elected to public office, my group of friends was obviously limited, as anybody's is. I had not been around my community as much as I would ~~have~~ like^d to have been. I had not worked intimately and closely with some of our key community leaders or with just the average person in the different wards of our city.

~~I think that my two years of public service in the City of Minneapolis have done more for me in terms of my attitude, of the convictions that I have, than all the years I spent in the University of Minnesota, at Louisiana State University or at Macalester College, and these were good years too.~~

I have had a chance to meet some good people, and a chance to meet up with a few bad ones. You never ^{fully} appreciate the good ones until you meet the bad ones. You never realize how important it is to spend time with those persons who have been misled in terms of their basic democratic attitudes, ~~or basic attitudes.~~ You never realize how important it is to practice the art^s of education ~~in public relations or~~ in public office

until you have had a chance to serve the people. I feel that I am a teacher. ~~I still feel that I want to be a teacher.~~ And I look upon my job as a public official ^{as} just taking the techniques of teaching into a broader arena. Taking it out of the classroom on to the platform and public office; working with more people than you would ever have a chance to work with in the close confines of a University or College.

I have a chance for some down to earth experimenting ~~and~~ ^{to} me, local government is the experimental laboratory of democracy. I have a burning conviction that unless we can so govern our local communities that every man, woman and child has equal rights and equal protection of law, ~~that~~ it will be utterly impossible to do ^{the job} ~~it~~ on a national level. I believe that we start rebuilding the world in our own back yard, ~~I~~ ^{think} that we start rebuilding a political, social and economic philosophy in our own heart and our own mind.

I am convinced that ~~there is~~ a dilemma ~~that~~ faces democracy; ~~and the dilemma is that~~ we all want to be participants, and most of us do not know how to participate. We all want to share in the making of great decisions, and yet we do not see how we fit into the picture. We have somehow been confused, because everything today is in Hollywood style; it is tremendous, it is colossal, it is wonderful, it is overwhelming, it is appalling. ~~We very seldom leave out any of those adjectives or adverbs.~~

I believe we are going to have to take these terms and put them down on our own individual lives, and see what we can do about them. Most of us are not going to be invited to the United Nations as ~~a~~ Delegate? ~~Make up your mind to that now.~~ Very few of us are going to be President, Governor, Senator, Congressmen, and very few of you are even going to be Mayor. ~~(laughter)~~ Most of us are not ^{even} going to ~~even~~ serve in the city council ~~or commission.~~ Most of us are going to have to do our job^s in our group, church, society or organization. We are going to have to do our work in our fraternal orders, and in our homes and neighborhoods.

And I think we have let people set some difficult standards for us when we ~~try to~~ think of democracy as something that is tremendous, colossal, stupendous, that requires greatness every moment of our lives. We are not ^{all} going to ~~all~~ have a chance for this greatness that receives newspaper headlines. We are not even going to be invited to meet the President or be on "Information Please." We are just going to have to get busy where we are, with what we have to be busy with.

We are going to have to use the means at our disposal and the tools that we have, that we know how to use. That is what we tried to do in Minneapolis. I say to my people in Minneapolis, "If you want a better State of Minnesota, you start building it right here. If you want more jobs, provide more in Minneapolis." There isn't any law that is going to be

passed that will guarantee employment, ^{though} there are laws that can help in the guarantee of remunerative employment. We provide jobs when we ~~build them and~~ create them in our own communities. That is how we answer the problem of unemployment.

We attack racial discrimination and intolerance, not by going to Washington and testifying before a Senate Committee, but by living as understanding and respecting citizens in our own back yard, and ward and block. This is a matter of heart, folks. All the logic in the world, and all the reasoning, and ~~may I say~~, all the education in the world ^{are} ~~is~~ not going to ~~be enough to~~ eliminate from America the spirit of bigotry unless we have it in our heart to do it. ~~(Applause)~~

My City of Minneapolis, at times, has been rapped pretty severely by sharp critics, people who understand the field of human relations. We have had such severe indictments as those brought by ^{Carey McWilliams} ~~Garrie Williams~~, and those of us who are honest know that in every city of America today, there is a spirit of intolerance and a bit of the Fascist. There is a quality of ^{mean} ~~meaness~~ in people that can only be overcome by a determined effort on the part of the mind and of the soul and of the heart to do something about it.

As Mayor ~~of that City~~, I ~~did~~ ^{ed} appoint a Mayor's Council on Human Relations, consisting of 18 people who believe that men and women should learn the art of living together; 18 people who are convinced that there are no minorities, that there are

just people, ~~/~~ mankind, ~~and that there is a~~ humanity; 18 determined citizens who believe with all their faith and life, in the fundamental ~~precepts and~~ concept of democracy. And that concept of democracy has been stated very concisely and plainly, ~~to all Americans, if we just want to know about it.~~

④ "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain Unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

~~Most of us spend time reading journals and essays, and all sorts of documents, looking for some new way to lead us out of the difficulties that we now find ourselves beset with. What our people and this nation needs at this particular moment, is a clarification and an understanding of the creed which is ours. And the creed which is ours is the universal creed, as established and as written in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, which is universal in its terms. "We hold these truths to be self-evident." There is no argument about it. Basic assumptions of our faith and life. "That all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their God," not by some political party; not by a professor or a commission or a council; not by a constitution, but by their God, but by their Creator, "with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness."~~

~~(Applause)~~

~~It is from this philosophy that I received, for myself~~
~~at least, the kind of personal philosophy that~~ gives me a lot
 of strength, and a lot of willingness to do battle with those
 who would oppose it.

I believe that there is a dignity of man. I believe
 it because God created him in His own image, ~~and I have a faith~~
~~and I am not ashamed of it.~~ I believe that men must have free-
 dom of conscience, because there is no supreme earthly being
 over them. ~~The only one that~~ man needs to humble himself ^{only} be-
 fore ~~is~~ his Creator, his God.

I believe that there is a Fraternity of Mankind. ~~I~~
~~would like to call it, as you would call it, a Brotherhood.~~ I
 believe that because we have one common Father, and if that is
 the case, obviously, ~~even on biological terms,~~ we must be
 Brothers. ~~(Applause)~~ Those are three fundamental tenets of
 our way of life.

I have said to our people in Minneapolis, that if we
 believe these things, let's get busy and do something about
 it. ^{It's meaningless to take} ~~There isn't any use in taking this philosophy, of course and~~
~~putting it in moth balls, and bowing down to it twice a week~~
~~and saying, "Look how good I am."~~ One of the real challenges
 that ~~people in a democracy face,~~ and people ^{who} that subscribe to
 democratic principles face, is their ability to live by them.

~~And may I say that~~ ¹ If we fail to live by them, it
 does not mean that the principles are wrong. It means that

we have ~~just~~ failed, and I say "failed" only momentarily.

~~Democratic principles and~~ The democratic creed ~~is~~ an eternal challenge to the goodness ~~and the decency~~ of men and women.

~~These things that we set out, these principles of~~
~~the dignity of man--~~ We have been ^{flouting} ~~flouting~~ the dignity of man in all the years of recorded history. We have been denying people freedom of conscience ever since man has been on ~~the~~ face of this earth, and we have repudiated ~~the tenets of~~ Brotherhood. ^{But} that does not ^{diminish} in any way, ~~lessen~~ my enthusiasm for the principles of democracy. It tells me that there is more work to be done, ~~and it tells me this: That~~ The challenge of democracy is ~~one that is~~ unceasing, so that you never need to worry that you are going to do all the work in this generation. There will be plenty for your children, and their children, and their children's children to do for the next thousand years.

~~There is much unfinished work to be done.~~ The agenda of freedom has many items on it. We started out with the Mayor's Council then, with these basic precepts, ~~and~~ ^W we said ~~that through the Council~~ ~~that with that Council~~ we were going to do everything we could ^{to} supplement every private organization working in the same field. It was our task to coordinate, to ~~aid and~~ be of help, and to point the way. We called in people who were guilty of discrimination in their business. We tried to establish community forums and programs to lead to a better understanding;

and we spoke rather sharply to some people who wouldn't catch on any other way. The Council on Human Relations undertook the greatest task undertaken in our city, and that was the community survey. We wanted to look into the mirror; and *we knew* ^{that} sometimes the image is rather shocking. So the city of Minneapolis said, "Let's take a look at our city." The Mayor's Council on Human Relations said, "We will give you the mirror."

We recruited from five to six hundred volunteer workers and we went into every facet of our community organization-- ~~into~~ employment, ~~into~~ hospitalization, ~~into~~ education, ~~and~~ the medical profession, ~~and~~ recreation, ~~and~~ welfare; and we tried to find out just what the true situation was there, ~~and~~ the picture in terms of human equality, equal treatment for all people.

We looked at the image, and we saw whiskers and blemishes, and after taking a look we said, "Now it is time for a little spot remover, ~~and~~ a little facial, and maybe a slight manicure of some of our social habits."

And even prior to that, ~~may I say~~, and during that same time, we had ~~an ordinance in our city council~~, a Fair Employment Practices Ordinance, ^{in the City Council} ~~and~~ those of faint heart, the sunshine patriots, would have given up. I always thank God that I was born in South Dakota, because you never give up if you live out there. ~~(Laughter)~~ ~~And I say that with all due respect to that wonderful state.~~ I thank God that I have been living in a period of time where we have suffered a great deal

of adversity, and still realize that we have it within ourselves to make this world all over again, if we really set our mind to it.

It took us fifteen months in Minneapolis to get a Fair Employment Practices Act passed. Attorneys ~~in the city~~ told us that it wasn't legal. There were different types of reasons, none of which made good sense, because no one would ever dare admit that we did not believe in fair employment practices. Nobody said, "I believe certain people should be relegated to second class citizenship." They said, "It might be hard on business" or "Cause more trouble than we have now," and it ^{might} be unconstitutional." God bless the constitution; whenever we want to do something for progress somebody brings up the constitution and the city charter.

I want to pay respect to Youngdahl, our Chairman, and some of the people on that Commission, who carried the fight, and went ahead with the preparation of the ordinance, and saw to it that committee hearings were held and the ordinance was passed, and when we lined them up to vote, there were only three who voted against it, and they did not want to jeopardize the city self-survey, and that is why they voted against it. Nobody will vote against FEPC unless he has the darnedest brash^s that you have ever seen.

We have a Fair Employment Practices Commission ~~in our~~ city composed of five people. That Commission consists of Mr.

George Jensen, a business man, Mr. Amos Diner, an outstanding attorney ~~of our city~~, Mr. Cannon, a Negro attorney ~~in our city~~, Mr. Larry Kelly, the former President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Jack Jorgenson, the President of the Teamsters, a Minnesota Labor Union. I submit to you that we have a cross-section of our city, and five people dedicated to doing a job under the terms of that ordinance.

We do not expect to put people in jail. You do not correct human weaknesses by putting people in jail. ~~You may apprehend the weak and take them out of circulation for a while, but you don't do a great deal of real rehabilitation.~~ The purpose of that ^e ordinance is to receive compliance. I like the term "law observance." I like to think in terms of compliance, rather than having to use the big stick ~~in terms~~ of enforcement; and already, just by the sheer passage of the ordinance, without any enforcement at all, employers have changed their employment blanks; concerns are hiring colored workers today who never did before, and people are writing in to the FEPC ~~Commission~~ asking for guidance and help.

I think that we have turned about; we have stopped our retreat and we are on the forward march of progress in the field of human relations in the city of Minneapolis.

~~(Applause)~~

~~I figured that with that sort of background, maybe I could be of some help in Washington, and I was asked by~~

Senator Ives, of New York, to appear before the Senate sub-Committee on the Fair Employment Practices Act, ~~and I will tell you what I said.~~

I told him:
I said, "I am not going to argue on the basis of morality. Obviously Fair Employment Practices is moral; ~~and~~ as a Christian I say that it is Christian, and it is democratic. So ~~for goodness sake,~~ there isn't any argument that you can make against fair employment practices on the basis of morality.

"The argument is to eliminate some of the narrow minded prejudice and ignorance of people who have become the victims of their own misdoings and misdealings ~~and~~ *Most* of the time I think it is better to argue in terms that people understand, and American people understand business very well. I cannot see why American businessmen want to deny themselves good skilled labor because of the color of a man's skin, or because of national origin. They would want to have the best ability available at all times, and the finest skill available regardless from whence it came."

~~and~~ I based my argument on dollars and cents, and on the basis that if American democracy is to live, it must succeed in this nation, ~~of course if we are going to support~~
If we are going to support democracy,
~~it.~~ We must have something to support, ~~and we cannot afford~~
~~a deficit. All of us know that line.~~ Mob violence is the manifestation of a society that is critically sick.

All of us recognize that the most vicious type of

discrimination and bigotry is the subtle type; the one you cannot place your finger on; the type that you and I know so well in this metropolitan district; and all of us know that the only way you can attack it is by having certain laws and principles around which can guide your actions.

I don't believe it is good enough to do this just in the school. I don't believe that you can fight discrimination and bigotry just by speeches. ~~I think~~ you have to have ~~some~~ ^{to use} ~~where along the line~~, the big stick behind you, if you need to, ~~use it~~, and I think then that ~~it~~ ^W behooves our legislators in the state of Minnesota, and in every other state in this Union, and our Congressmen and Senators, to ~~make~~ ^W up to the nation in which they are living, and to the government to which they pledge allegiance, to the principle to which they say they live, ~~and~~ ^{It behooves} ~~to make clear that they put into the law of this nation and this state these blocks and these bulwarks of democracy which~~ ^{them to give} ~~is~~ equal protection by law, to all people, regardless of their race, color or creed. (Applause)

~~Sometimes I think maybe I take this almost too seriously. It is not only a matter of mind with me. I read a lot of material about this. I have tried to study, as any other person would do. But I was just brought up this way.~~

⁹ I was brought up in a home where we were taught to love the other people, ~~if not to love them, at least to respect them.~~ I was also taught that every man and woman has something good

to contribute if you will just look for the good. I was ~~also~~ taught ~~to believe~~ that there isn't any one man who can do any great job. It takes many of us, working together. ~~And~~ I was raised on a philosophy that told to me that the only strength this nation ever has or will have is the strength of its people, ~~its people~~ united for a common task, sharing common burdens, and assuming common responsibilities, ~~and~~ I believe with Woodrow Wilson, that this nation is only as rich and strong as its people, ~~its~~ people wise, and people healthy, and ~~its~~ people understanding. And it is our job as American citizens to spread that doctrine.

We have those who would lead us other places. We have had the doctrine of hate in this world, and its scars ~~and~~ ~~elements~~ are still with us. Fascism is not dead. ~~It is only~~ ~~a little bit unconscious~~. It isn't ~~even~~ buried. Fascism has always been with us. It is the evil against which we strive and struggle. It has a twin evil in this world, and that is the evil of dictatorship, whether it be of the right or of the left.

I have dedicated my life to the high road of democracy. I do not believe in walking in the gutter, either in my social life or political life. I never believed in spending ~~a great length of~~ time in the patches of weeds along the concrete highway of security and safety. It would seem to me by now that Americans would begin to understand that there just isn't

any way that we can fulfill ^{our} ~~these~~ hopes and aspirations ~~of ours~~ unless we do stay upon the highway, ~~and~~ the solid constructive highway of democratic ideals ~~and idealism~~. And democratic idealism leaves no room for secret police; ~~it leaves~~ no room for a one party system; ~~It leaves no room~~ for those self-appointed, self-appointed, invincible, supposedly perfect leaders.

Democracy ~~requires that its~~ main springs ^{must} ~~and its well~~ ~~springs of life~~ come from the people.

May I offer you this admonition: All of us are looking for leadership ~~in this country of ours~~. Leadership has become a ^{ph}obia in the 20th century. We are looking for someone on horseback to lead us out of trouble. ~~We are looking for somebody in Washington to lead us out of trouble. We are looking for somebody in the United Nations to say the right things.~~ We are looking for somebody everywhere, every place, somebody to do something for us. You know what we have to do? We have to appoint ourselves as little independent leaders in our own community ^{es} and go back and bring unto ourselves hundreds of ^{pe}light minded people, ~~and make up our mind immediately that~~ the leadership that is going to survive in this country is the ~~leadership of the~~ sustaining spirit to do a good job where we are.

You are never going to develop people you can trust until you can develop an attitude back home you can understand and of which they are a part. ~~And~~ I have a feeling that somehow

~~or other~~, out of Minneapolis, and out of this state of Minnesota, and out of these mid-western states ~~that we have here, if we can get down to earth on these problems that~~ we will develop the kind of leadership that won't need extra education when it gets to Washington or any place else. We will be able to develop the kind of people to represent us in business, labor and government that already are pouring out their heart^s and ~~surplus of~~ their energy in behalf of mankind.

Human relations goes a long way¹, Friends. It is not just that we respect each other; ~~that we don't call each other nasty names.~~ ^{and} It goes much deeper than that. It means the right of every man to have a job. ~~That is human relations.~~
~~Human relations in America means~~ the right of every American citizen to education, and that is being seriously threatened in this nation ~~of ours~~ today. ~~And~~ I call upon my friends in B'nai B'rith to become the champions of public education by your taxes and your willingness to support institutions of learning for the mass of American people.

It requires something ~~else~~ ^{more} than just good feeling about your fellow citizen. It means ~~he~~ ^{your fellow citizen} should feel good, spiritually, physically and mentally, ~~and~~ ^{and} he has to have health protection. ~~And~~ I think we have to include in our broad program of human relations the right of every American citizen to good health, and to institutions of health protection ~~in this nation;~~ ~~And~~ that surely leads me to say that there ought

not to be any quota rules upon doctors and lawyers and other professional people because of race, color or creed. We have never had too many doctors. We have had too few people who could afford to pay for their services. We never had too many dentists. We have had too few people able to patronize them.

We are working towards the kind of society where men and women will be able to take care of their health, their homes, and ~~to take care of~~ their families.

I conclude, ~~this evening~~, with this thought ~~in mind~~; that this great nation ~~of ours~~ is built on something ^{more} ~~also~~ than material blessings. It is created upon a faith in each other, and upon a faith in our God. I think we need to keep that in mind, ever present with us. Most of us are of the opinion that if we can just keep our mechanism of productivity, our industry going, ~~that~~ somehow we will conquer all things before us. I submit to you that before ^{we} ~~you~~ can settle the problems of labor or management, and keep this nation as prosperous and productive as you and I want it, we have to settle the problems of human relations, which is living peaceably and in a friendly association between people.

This cannot be done ~~if it is only to be done~~ on the objective materialistic basis. It can only be done when we realize that we are bound together in a common brotherhood and an association because of certain spiritual and certain ethical ties; and if we will ~~take that and~~ put first things first ~~and~~

~~come down from first things first to those things which are the details and lesser points,~~ we will be much better off.

Our churches have a job to do today. A great task faces them. Our people in public life have a great task facing them, and what is it? To say the truth, and to speak out and fear not. The American people are sick and tired of political bunk and political bunksters. The American people are fed up with a type of hocus-pocus philosophy, whether it be the philosophy that comes from the pulpit or the platform of the public speaker.

The American people today are looking for someone to challenge their good instincts, and they are looking for people in every area of their community to call them into action to march against the enemies that are ever present with them; the enemies of ignorance and ~~the enemies of~~ prejudice and of bigotry. And I, for one, can come here and almost give you a testimonial, and tell you this: ~~That~~ If your heart is right, and your courage is strong, and you're equipped with ~~the facts~~ and the information, ~~as well as a willing spirit,~~ you will find the people that will go and do battle ^{beside} ~~with~~ you.

There is an old French song that goes something like this: "Give me some men, who are stout-hearted men, and I'll soon give you 10,000 more." That is ^{what} ~~all~~ it takes. Give us some men who believe in these things; give us some men who believe that all men are created equal, ~~and we have to make that~~

~~be dramatized in American life~~; give us men and women who believe that the institutions of government have only one validity and that is how they serve their people; give us men and women in public and private life, in business and labor and civic institutions and organizations who have an abiding faith in men and women to govern themselves on a high plane of human decency, and this nation ~~of ours~~ will see new days of grandeur.

We are in the period of our test now. ~~This is our trial period,~~ and ~~We~~ do not have another hundred years to make up our mind where we are going. The world is looking to us, not ^{alone} ~~only~~ for our goods and services, ~~They are not only looking~~ for a hand-out. The world is looking for the hand of American fellowship, and the hand of American fellowship can not be besmirched with greed and selfishness ~~if it is going to be accepted by other people in other areas of the world.~~ (Applause)

America must come with clean hands. It must emancipate itself of those very obvious evils that are with us; and then, as we come with ~~our~~ clean hands of fellowship and good neighborliness, and ~~have~~ understanding, our goods and our services will be accepted, as a testimonial to the efficiency and the adequacy of democratic institutions.

We will know ourselves by our deeds, Friends, not by our words. We will be able to prove to the world the meaning of democracy by proving to ourselves, ~~for once and for all,~~ that democracy can work, does work, ~~and is capable of support,~~

and ~~that it~~ will work where we plant it.

We ~~in America today~~ have the greatest chance that has ever been given a people. We threw it away once ~~before~~, and it has been given to us the second time. That chance is to be literally born anew ~~here and~~ with that youthful vigor that comes with rebirth, to march in greater areas of human endeavor.

And I extend to the B'nai B'rith, and I extend to my Friends, my fellow Americans, wherever they may be, what little help I, as an individual, can give. ~~And~~ I have a real feeling that working together with these common principles ~~that bind us together, that~~ there isn't any force in this world that can stop us.

All we need to do is join in the march, to make up our minds that we are masters of our own destiny, and that we have the faith and philosophy and the means to make this world all over again.

Thank you very much.

... The audience arose and applauded ...

CHAIRMAN EPSTEIN: Mayor Humphrey, your straightforwardness, and your intellectual honesty have made you a hard hitting foe against ignorance, superstition and bigotry. You speak our language. It rings true. We have listened to a great deal of double talk, and I want you to know we are squarely with you down the middle of the road of Democracy, neither to the right nor to the left. We too agree that there is nothing wrong with democracy that more democracy cannot cure.



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